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844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *uelo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out; a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauuilu* fiber, called for this purpose *ta*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manatu*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *kakouí* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wuke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the newborn child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulunga*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yua wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*wu wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

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853 846 end of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with cocoanut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *puka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*tama yuatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama na mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*vayanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be 845 born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-

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551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 854 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given 853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The 854 infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first [857] remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

857 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or bite on other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (2). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there [152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it whenever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *lomilomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[2] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straightforward business. Children are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pandanus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[2] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to personal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[2]

[2] In Pukapukan, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–33; James S. Plant, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York, 1937), pp. 132–33.